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A STUDY OF IBERIC-AMERICA

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South of us in this hemisphere are nearly 8,000,000 square miles of land three-quarters of which are within the tropics. This last is a great momentous and dominating fact. For this means that there are 6,000,000 square miles, an area about twice the size of the United States exclusive of Alaska, which will never in the main be peopled by the white man as we understand the phrase. For say what some may, the white does not thrive in regions characteristically tropical and most of these 6,000,000 square miles are so. There are exceptions, as considerable portions of Mexico and Central America, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia are so high that such parts have what may be called a white man's climate. But even so it is not likely that the future inhabitants of these higher regions will differ largely in race characteristics from those now there. This fact is at the bottom of the Iberic-American question. It is that the races to the south of us differ essentially from the Anglo-Saxon in psychic qualities.

I desire to say that what follows herein is not said in unkindly criticism or in unkindly spirit. I have an immense liking for the Spanish race wherever found; for its hospitable and generous character, for its beautiful family life, its dignity and courtesy. While there is something which they can learn from us, there is very much for us to learn from them and I wish that we might take this last fact very much to heart.

It is part of our northern make-up (call it stupidity if you will, and you will not be far astray), that we view the mental habit of all other races as being akin to our own; that the Mexican, Peruvian, Brazilian will understand things political in exactly the sense that we do. There never was such a thing, for example, as a constitutional election in Mexico nor do one-tenth of 1 per cent of the Mexican people know what it means. How can they when a vote in a presidential election rarely exceeds 18,000? And how can it be otherwise when the upper class, say but a fifteenth of the population, the only class with a semblance of education, is itself temperamentally unable

to understand a constitutional government? They belong to a class tribal by instinct in whose very blood is unrest and inability to coalesce into a single responsible government carried on on constitutional lines. The Spanish and Portuguese races to which the governing classes in all the republics to the south of us belong began as Berbers and remain essentially Berber-Moor today, scarcely changed at bottom from their relations across the straits in Morocco and the Atlas.

It is this lack of comprehension of what race character means that causes our trouble. We do not understand the other man, and until we recognize our ignorance in this regard, until we accept the great fundamental fact of all life,—that every race, every species has its special race or specific temperament and habit of thought and action,—we shall be unsuccessful in our relations with these our brother republics. It is a study of temperament, disposition, outlook on life, a study in a word of all that goes to make up character that we need for successful dealing with races so essentially different from our own. Until we shall see this, we are but groping darkly.

And a word as to the use of the word "Iberic." It has become the fashion to speak of Latin-America. This is a phrase almost wholly misplaced. There is no "Latin" America in any true sense. There is an Iberic-America, and this confusion of terms has caused or has helped largely to cause, our confusion of thoughts. The Spaniards and Portuguese who settled with whites all to the south of us are not of Latin stock, though with some Latin intermixture. I would say again to accentuate the fact, that the ancient people of the Iberic peninsula which includes Spain and Portugal were, with the exception of a remote Celtic strain, Iberians—Berbers—the same in race as the Berbers of today, of the African Atlas, akin to the Moor and in the distant ages to the Arab. Their occupancy of North Africa and of Spain is lost in the mists of history.

The Greeks established a colony on the east coast of Spain as they did in so many other parts of the Mediterranean. The Carthaginian, a Semite, came and took possession of the ports and exploited the mines of the region. The Romans expelled these in 206 B.C., and then took two hundred years in conquering the original inhabitants. They governed and administered Spain until Rome herself fell before the barbarians, but they never colonized in the true sense. Roman governors and Roman armies occupied the country and impressed upon the whole peninsula their power and language sufficiently

to develop the latinized languages of the Spain and Portugal of today. Undoubtedly, too, there was a large infusion of Roman blood, as was but natural. In the long occupation of three hundred years following the two hundred of conquest, Spain was indeed a Roman province in a larger sense than almost any other lying beyond the confines of Italy, but the Goths, Vandals and Visigoths, who came atop of the Romans were with the last all absorbed by the conquered Iberians as were the Norman invaders of England by the English. The people of the Peninsula remained Iberian at bottom despite their many conquerors. This is markedly so of the south, diminishing somewhat toward the north, but always true. In Portugal later on came a strong negro strain through slavery. The negroes thus brought have thoroughly coalesced with the native Portuguese who seem never to have shown a dislike to so mixing.

In 700, the Berbers from Africa crossed the straits and made an easy conquest, as it was but coalescing with people of their own blood. The kindred Moors lent a hand and the peninsula became Berber-Moor in dominion as in blood. The Africans swept over Spain with wonderful rapidity because of their kinship. For five hundred years they held all of Spain and for two hundred more its fairest portion, and when their downfall came it was mainly through difference of religion, Christianity having been brought by the invaders who followed the Romans; it did not come through essential difference of race.

The tribal tendencies of the race are shown in the long continuance of the many separate kingdoms, thirteen in number, which constitute the Spain of today. Until the time of Ferdinand and Isabella they were largely independent and the largest was still Moorish. After the fall of Granada all the petty kingdoms were, in a way, united into one, but it was as the kingdom of Las Españas, the Spains, and not a single unified Spain, and the country has always remained regional, as the Spanish expression goes.¹

I have thought it well to give this little bit of history because in it lies the very root of our subject, the reason why the Spanish race wherever found is ready for revolution or insurrection. It is this Ber-

¹For a more extended discussion of this subject see Chadwick, *Relations of the United States and Spain*. (Diplomacy), Introduction. For the Inception and Development of the Monroe Doctrine, *Ibid.*, chapters ix and x.

ber-Moorish blood which has given it the tribal, separatist, regional instinct, or whatever one may call the tendency mentioned and which has made it impossible for the people of Spanish blood to understand a centralized constitutionalized government. That there is somewhat less of this revolutionary and separatist instinct in the Portuguese comes through the mixture in Portugal of negro blood just mentioned which has given it softer characteristics, and in this is to be found the reason for the less revolutionary character of the Brazilians though as we know even from the present unrest in Brazil it is far from absent.

Leaving Portuguese Brazil aside for the moment, the Spaniards through their superior qualities and education over those of the native and mixed races have naturally been the governing class of the Spanish-American provinces. They came among a mild, barbarous people whom they practically enslaved and who have remained till now almost without education or uplift in economic condition. They have remained as ignorant as the Spanish peasant himself remained for ages, the tool of warring factions in Spain as in Mexico, for be it remembered that Spain through a great part of the nineteenth century was torn by revolution and factional slaughter as Mexico is today. Our minister to Spain, Caleb Cushing, of distinguished ability, wide observation and intimate knowledge of the country could say of Spain in a dispatch dated July 11, 1876,

. . . . my residence in Spain has enabled me to appreciate the true cause and character of administration in Cuba. It is that the governors are incapable of conducting and the governed equally incapable of receiving good government. They are all Spaniards alike, as General Prim has so often said, whether you call them Peninsulars or Cubans. . . . Now has there been maladministration in Cuba? So there has been in Spain herself. Have there been rebellions in Cuba, guerrilla warfare, burnings, sacking of towns, military executions, deportations, embargo of private property, banishments, suspension of suffrage, arbitrary domination of captains-general? So all these things have been occurring in Spain. She has had naught else for more than sixty years but alternations between anarchy and despotism.

And so he goes on, saying near the end, "the misfortunes of Spain and of Cuba are conditions of the national character, as manifested alike in Spain and in all Spanish America."

There spoke in this dispatch the true and candid statesman, one who recognized that the first element in international questions is knowledge of the character of those with whom you are dealing. I

would, had I my way, have every newly appointed secretary of state read and ponder the inner meaning of this dispatch.

Now what is to be the outcome of the present and prospective conditions in Iberic-America? We see two of the republics in South America which have arrived at marked stability, Argentina and Chile; to a lesser degree, Brazil. There can be no question that these at least are on the road to greatness. Greatest in area, at least, is Brazil, a country a tenth larger than the United States, with a population claimed to be 24,000,000 (but largely guess-work) or about three times that of Argentina. But nine-tenths is within the tropics and with a climate but little modified in these nine-tenths by any marked elevation of land. Nearly a third of the whole population (7,280,000) is in the other tenth which extends from Rio de Janeiro to Uruguay, and it is in this tenth that the whites largely predominate. It is here that are to be found some 400,000 of Germans the product of an immigration which has been continuous since 1820, and the greater number of Italians who outnumber the Germans three to one. The Italians however are somewhat migratory, many returning yearly to Italy, as they do to a large degree in the United States. This habit of migration is even more frequent in Argentina where many thousands of Spaniards and Italians travel yearly the 10,000 miles (to and fro) for the wheat harvest.

About 3,000,000 square miles (or nine-tenths) of Brazil lie to the north of Rio de Janeiro which is just within the tropics. In this vast region there are probably not over 14,000,000 people, or less than five to the square mile, made up, with a very moderate number of pure whites, of various mixtures of white, negro and Indian blood. The state of Pará with 443,903 square miles has but one inhabitant to the square mile. Amazonas with 732,439 square miles (approximating three times the size of Texas), has a population of but about 250,000, or but about one to every three square miles. Matto Grosso twice the size of Texas has but 118,000 population or about one to every five square miles. Brazil's best showing is San Paulo of 112,307 square miles, and with a population of 2,282,279, or 20.3 to the square mile. To show how sparse this population is: New England has 108 to the square mile; the Middle Atlantic division (New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania), 193; the South Atlantic (Delaware to Florida inclusive), 45 to the square mile. One has to go to the Saharan regions to find any likeness to the sparsity of population in vast stretches of Brazil.

That there can be any reasonable approach to a republican system of government is of course impossible in a population where 80 per cent can neither read nor write and where the effort to increase literacy is so slight that but only 634,000 children in a population claimed to be 24,000,000 are at school. Were there the same population at school as in the United States there would be about three and a half millions in actual school attendance instead of less than a fifth that number. Even the reported numbers are very doubtful.

Set between Brazil and Argentina is Uruguay a state a little larger than New England and with but a million and a half of population perhaps the most truly Spanish in character of any but Chile. As the actual number of immigrants coming to settle in the country is but about 6,000 a year and many of these are Spanish, it will long retain its Spanish character. So situated, between two much more powerful neighbors, there is much apprehension among Uruguayans as to the political future of their country. This is of course too delicate a subject to discuss here and need only be mentioned.

Argentina, as large nearly as the United States east of the Mississippi, with a splendid and magnificent capital of a million and a half of inhabitants, a population of 8,000,000, rapidly increasing and with great present and immense potential wealth, is bound to be one of the seats of empire. Nearly the whole is a vast plain bordered on the west by the Andes and their foothills and is akin in appearance though not in climate to the steppes of Russia. Its northern edge is just within the tropics; its capital is in the relative latitude of southern Tennessee, and its southern limit in relatively that of the south edge of Hudson's Bay. But as one goes south the continent narrows until it is a narrow wedge between the two great oceans, and the climate becomes that of Great Britain instead of that of Labrador. Into this vast region with but six inhabitants to the square mile have come to be added to the Spanish stock the blood of nearly 3,000,000 immigrants who came and stayed in the country from 1857 to 1911. In this last mentioned year came 117,723 Spaniards and 58,185 Italians, fully 60 per cent of whom however came only for the harvests and then returned. But there were others many of whom stayed; as 4,916 French, 1,730 English, 16,694 Swiss, 23,450 Germans and 24,785 Austrians, besides Syrians, Poles, Russians and many other nationalities in smaller numbers.

The immigration for 1910, 1911 and 1912 (the last returns avail-

able) was 500,319; the emigration was 338,496, or nearly 68 per cent of the entries. The net gain in immigrants in these three years was thus but 161,823.

The population of the country will necessarily be a mixture of many races. Fortunately it is free of the negro problem which is such a handicap to Brazil. But whatever the preponderant blood may be, Argentina by force of its economic advance and the establishment of vast commercial interests which have been controlled by the Germans and English, has long been out of the revolutionary pale, and is a surprisingly rich, stable and rapidly advancing commonwealth.

The same though on a smaller scale may be said of Chile, which with an area a fourth larger than France, is a long narrow strip 2,600 miles long and but a hundred broad, barred from any eastward extensions by the Andes. The northern third is a desert rich however in copper and nitrates; the central third remarkably like California in climate and general character; the south like Scotland. Again the English and Germans are to the fore commercially though sixty years ago the American Wheelwright was the great promoter of Chilian advance, a fact which Chile has recognized in erecting a statue to his memory. Ethnically Chile is mainly Spanish with a strong English and German strain. In the south are still a hundred thousand of Aruacanian Indians, who now peaceful were never conquered. The whole population is less than 4,000,000, and as the immigration is but about 2,000 a year, it will be long before there will be much racial change. Twenty-five years has passed since the revolution due to the liberalizing ideas of the Balmaceda government. The revolution was at bottom moved by much the same ideas as those which are causing Mexican unrest. Madero was a Mexican Balmaceda. Both were the victims of their liberal ideas which continue dimly today in Mexico where the vast ignorant mass follows leaders, some of whom are almost equally ignorant, in the dim hope of alleviation, in some way, of their unfortunate lot.

Peru, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela are all in the category of states with a cultivated society of Spanish descent, moderate in number and who in general are responsible for the government and conditions of the country. But in the main the population of these is of an Indian and mixed race inert in character, densely ignorant and of extreme conservatism. Though we are dealing with great stretches it is with populations comparatively insignificant in numbers. Peru

is nearly three and a half times the size of the German Empire; Colombia twice the size of Germany and Venezuela nearly three times, Ecuador but a half. The populations are: in Peru less than three millions, in Ecuador one and a quarter, in Colombia about five and in Venezuela probably about a million and a half. That the Panama Canal will have a great effect upon the regions west of the Andes is undoubted, but it will be long before they are built into powerful states, with the exception perhaps of Chile.

Bolivia, but little less in area than three Germanys, with a mixed and Indian population of two and a quarter millions, and Paraguay the equal of three New Yorks, and with but 800,000, people, are practically Indian or semi-Indian states. The latter in its struggle against the combined forces of Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina in 1865 and 1866 lost so heavily that it is estimated that there are in the country but about a fourth as many men as women. It is thought that about 30,000 European immigrants have settled in the country in the last 32 years or an average of 1,000 a year.

We may pass by Central America whose population is made up much as that of its neighbors, and come to Mexico. The *Almanach de Gotha*, as reliable an authority as any existing, gives for the population in 1912 as 15,445,787. It also gives the nationalities of foreigners within its borders in 1910 as follows: Americans 19,586, Spaniards 24,212, French 3,971, English 4,771, Italians 2,068, Germans 3,645, Turks 2,563, Chinese 12,769, Japanese 1,922, Arabs 1,338, Cubans 2,394, Guatemalans (who can scarcely be looked upon as foreigners), 21,302—a total of 105,544. In other words as these are the totals of those established in the country through many years, there is practically no emigration to Mexico.

But what concerns us more: how are the 15,400,000 Mexicans made up? In spite of larger claims, I doubt if more than 1,000,000 are of pure Spanish blood; the other 14,000,000 and more are Indians and cross-breeds in all degrees, who taken generally are perhaps more ignorant, immoral, lazy and intemperate than any other 14,000,000 in the world. As the appropriation for schools is but about three and a half millions in American money it is readily seen that the great mass go without any education whatever. And this mass is in a state of peonage scarcely removed from slavery. It is perhaps the greatest mission field in the world, and perhaps the most neglected. I use the word mission not in the sense of a religious propaganda, but in that

of educational, moral and hygienic uplift. The attempt to plant in Mexico at this period of its development, our Protestant ideas of Christianity, would I believe result in utter failure and would be a sad mis-spending of money which would be much better used in teaching the a b c's of civilization and leaving them to their present religion which, in its way, is ingrained in the people. Upon such uplift depends in large degree our own safety. The staggering question is how to bring this uplift about. The impulse must come from without, apparently it cannot come from within "this poor and intensely ignorant mass."

The stern facts seem to be as I have stated. I would refer to the *Immigration Problem* by Messrs. Jenks and Lauch who were members of the United States Immigration Commission and who have put forth a summary of the report of that commission, in which they take a very disheartening view of Mexican immigrants to this country. They state that they engage practically only in unskilled work; their wages in the railway work are the lowest paid; very few become foremen; they can care only for eight acres of beets as against eleven by the Japanese; their standard of living the lowest, their lack of thrift the greatest of any immigrants; they learn English slowly; the attendance at school and intelligence of the children are much less than the average; they are likely to become public charges; they are quarrelsome and inclined to crime; they are less desirable as citizens even than as laborers; their progress is much slower than that of Japanese or Chinese.

A competent observer, Mr. A. W. Warwick, in a very sober and thoughtful article on the Mexicans in the *Forum* for January says:

The phenomenal growth of Mexico from 1900 to 1910 was not in any sense due to the progress of the Mexicans. There was no improvement in agricultural methods and from the Rio Grande to Yucatan there was not, so far as I am aware, a single railroad, factory, or irrigation project fostered by purely Mexican capital and designed and executed by Mexican engineers. Further, in spite of the long period of instruction by foreigners it is safe to say that the Mexican engineers and workmen could not efficiently operate the railroads, electric light works, smelters or factories of the country if all the foreigners were withdrawn.²

² A. W. Warwick, *Forum*, January, 1914, p. 45.

The same writer states that:

A high authority was very probably correct when he stated that between 50 and 55 per cent of all births in the republic were outside marriage relations. In some states the figures are much higher, in Hidalgo it was 80 per cent; in Michoacan it was 75 per cent, and in this same state the district of Zamora was credited with no less than 93.6 per cent of illegitimate births. Astonishing as these figures are they are entirely worthy of credence. Outside the larger towns probably 95 per cent of the people would be illiterate.³

This writer sums up the Mexican people as follows:

1. Mainly of Indian type.
2. Illiterate.
3. Mainly of illegitimate birth.
4. Inefficient as workers.
5. Intemperate.
6. Quarrelsome.

As long as the people have their present characteristics civil war will be more normal than peace and good order . . . although there may be peace enforced by an iron hand for a few years, the seething forces underneath the superficial crust of a commercial and land aristocracy will have their day, and it seems inevitable that the Mexican of this generation will live in short periods of peace frequently broken by more or less prolonged civil war.⁴

I think the situation is here exactly described. There is an aristocracy of a certain amount of culture, but itself of a blood which means unrest; and in the hands of this aristocracy is nearly all the land of the country, some of the estates running to thousands of square miles. Below this is a great seething mass largely of another blood and temperament, with nothing to aspire to because it does not know what aspiration means, but it knows in a dull way that it is treated badly and that it wants something better. The Mexican periodical unrests are in fact fundamentally agrarian with half-conscious efforts to become citizens instead of slaves. The great landed class has, as a class, never given a thought to the uplift of this mass of misery into citizenship, decency and well being. Certainly any true effort cannot, as just said, come from these poverty stricken ignorant millions. The situation, unless there should be developed a lofty patriotism and an almost impossible altruism

³ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁴ *Ibid.*

among the great landowners and the rich of Mexico (of which one scarcely sees a sign), appears almost hopeless. For such a condition one must hark back to the Dark Ages or to the Russia of generations since. And back of all this there still remains lowering gloomily the greater question as to the possibility of real development in the Aztec and other Indian races of Mexico. The Indian of Central and South America is even more stolid and unadaptable, so that we are in face of one of the great problems with no solution in sight. The only one that I can imagine is that he and his low mentality may disappear in the melting pot of a great immigration.

Brazil north of Rio de Janeiro (and I would recall that this means a region as large as the United States), is another and even more difficult problem. This vast region will finally and inevitably be peopled with a mixture in which the Indian and negro will predominate. From this there is no escape. The great basin of the Amazon with its many gigantic tributaries is a region in which the white man may live, but in which he can never thrive. This statement in my opinion is beyond question. The hope of Brazil lies in its great southern plateau, a region as large as the states of California, Oregon and Washington combined and in which the chief part of the population, rapidly increasing by immigration chiefly Italian, is white. Whether the colored race mixture of the north shall in the very distant future develop better qualities than those of the Mexican is extremely questionable. Neither the South American Indian nor the negro has in him constructive statesmanship. Hayti and Liberia are concrete examples of this truth applied to the negro if proof be needed, and surely the mixture of the two or of the two with the white to the extent that the last is probable, will scarcely give any better. It is very probable that the true African will find in northern Brazil a field of emigration, though the present chances are that he will select the United States unless in our immigration laws we couple Africa with Asia. Already some 50,000 negroes of alien birth have entered the United States; the Cape Verde negro of truest black is coming into New England by the thousands. These islands are but three hundred miles from the African coast, and the day is very near when this fever of emigration will reach the Congo region. Our apathy on this subject is a thing I fail to comprehend. We see the effect of the mixture of

the white and negro races, not alone in Portugal but in Naples, Sicily and Morocco. If one should wish to know the result in Portugal, he should read an article in the *Nineteenth Century and After* for January, 1914.⁵ Whatever the good qualities of the negro, I do not think that anyone will claim that his mixture with the white will improve the latter, but it is this mixture which we face as surely as the sun rises and sets. It is only a question in the long run of percentage. This I hold should not be allowed to increase by the new African immigration already in progress. If we have not courage to stop this our decadence has begun. I mention these facts of deep significance though they are not in over-close relation to our subject, for the earnest consideration of those who wish that our own shall not be a negroid people.

It is sufficiently clear that the whole of this hemisphere to the south is peopled by races essentially different from our own; that the ruling element is Iberic in blood (Spanish and Portuguese), becoming modified somewhat by numerous additions chiefly Italian and Spanish, but with many of nearly all European and some Asiatic peoples; that three at least have grown into rich, important and potentially powerful nationalities with stable governments. The Monroe Doctrine certainly does not apply to these as in the time of Monroe when they were weak provinces of Spain and Portugal, and when the Holy Alliance which had taken over the regulating of the continent of Europe threatened to extend its power to reduce to the dominion of Spain the feeble provinces which had declared their independence. One can scarcely imagine more different situations than those of 1823 and today. To apply this doctrine in the sense of standing by as a protector is naturally an irritant to a people in whom pride is a predominant characteristic. We know that intimation of such an attitude does irritate. Thus if we desire friendship, good fellowship and kindly feeling, why hold to an attitude of irritation and prevent this very desirable kindly feeling? I certainly can see no reason for it. No European or other power is ever going to attack Argentina, Brazil or Chile with any idea of establishing dominion over them. Such a thing is not within the possible. As for Venezuela, Colombia, the Central American states and Mexico, these border the Caribbean and for our own purposes of defense we

⁵ Francis McCullagh, "Portugal, the Nightmare Republic."

shall never peacefully permit the incorporation by a foreign power of these or any part of the neighboring Pacific coasts. The necessity of holding intact the Panama Canal would force this attitude upon us did no Monroe Doctrine exist. Such a policy is by the fact of the Panama Canal wholly independent of the Monroe Doctrine. Nor is it possible that the United States would ever desire to incorporate any of these regions. The immensely wide differences of race, temperament and character would forbid this even if principle were thrown to the winds. For this country to incorporate these great spaces with such different populations could only end in the overthrow of our system which is wholly unfitted for such a test. Rome failed; we should much more surely fail. There is, if I know anything of the American people, a strong and deep feeling against anything savoring of such adventure. Had it been otherwise an American army would have been in occupation of Mexico many months since.

I do not see that there is any wish on our part to play the rôle in America of the Holy Alliance in Europe. There can be little doubt that the three greater powers of South America would unite against any real foreign aggression. A true reading of the Monroe Doctrine today would thus be in such case to act as a friendly fourth power, as an equal among equals. To assume more would defeat our own purposes which, as I have said, I take to be the establishment of friendly and more intimate relations among the American republics.

And let us not forget the subject of manners. From the South American's point of view we have none, and he is not far from right. To explain in some degree what I mean I would have every one read chapter XII of Mr. Charles Macomb Flandrau's most capital book, *Viva Mexico*. We send abroad too many such as he there describes, who seem to think that in a foreign country reserve and propriety are useless restrictions. The conduct of persons of undoubted good standing at home but too often gives one the impression that our \$400,000,000 spent yearly on our public schools is spent to very small purpose if a better result be not obtained than that Mr. Flandrau describes, and which I am sure he does not exaggerate, for I know of worse in much more highly placed of our countrymen than such as he mentions.

Many have looked upon our actions in later years in Santo

Domingo and in some of the Central American states as exceeding that which is proper and just. I do not see it in this light. If we want precedent we need but look to Europe. I do not pretend to justify all or any that the Holy Alliance caused to be done in the suppression of revolution in Naples, Piedmont and Spain and still less its thought of reducing to Spanish dominion Spain's revolted American provinces. Its whole action under the domination of Metternich was hateful. But the action of the Powers in the Greek revolution, and in latter years in Crete, of England in Egypt, all of which worked for good, and the many cases of interference which might be cited which sometimes do not deserve praise are ample precedent for such action as we ourselves have taken and which has thus been correct diplomatically and has been equally correct ethically. It has not been stamped in anywise with selfish interest, but has been in the interest of general well-being and most particularly of the regions specially concerned.

Referring again to the Panama Canal we must take into account a fact not generally recognized: which is that the canal does not bring us commercially nearer to the east coast of South America. The great wall of the Andes will always be a barrier to trans-continental traffic. There is, it is true, a railway from Argentina to the Pacific and in time there may be others across the great range, so much more difficult of passage than the Alps, but it will be long before they will be in a position to make it preferable to transport cargoes between the United States and Argentina and Brazil to sending it by sea around Cape St. Roque, though in so doing ships must go 2,400 nautical miles east of the longitude of New York. The immensely greater convenience and cheapness of water transportation will long hold us to the all-sea route from our own ports to those of Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina which are our chief South American customers. An able authority⁶ estimates the cost of land carriage as twenty times that by sea; it is thus evident that bulk will never be broken so long as the sea will serve.

As these countries are so much more closely bound to Europe by race ties and by the habits, social and commercial, of generations, it will require much effort, much tact, a much greater study of usages and language and a cultivation of much better manners

⁶ Gibson Bowles, *Sea Law and Sea Power*.

than we usually show, besides the establishment of thoroughly good diplomatic and consular services to obtain an equal footing with our European rivals.

I repeat that above all else I would place the study of the temperaments, the psychics of the South American. In such study is the crux not alone of this but of every international problem, or of any problem concerned with the conduct of men, for in the study of psychics lies the study of the problem of all human thought and action. We have certainly ignored this as far at least as the South American is concerned almost *in toto*. It is time we were taking another course and knowing something of the soul of other races.